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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis
A HISTORY OF WEMAQUID
With Sketches
of
Monhegan, Popham, and Castine

Submitted by
Arlita D. Parker

(A.B. B.U. 1906)

In partial fulfilment of requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

1930

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Chapter I

Pemaquid and the first explorers

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1605 George Weymouth

makes explorations in vicinity of Pemaquid

Landfall at Monhegan May 17, 1605
Anchors at George's Islands Harbor
Explores George's River
Lands and marches toward Camden Hills
Visits Pemaquid and captures five savages
Nahanada
Skidwarres
Amoret
Maneddo
Saffacomoit

Account of Weymouth, the man
Student of mathematics and shipbuilding
In employ of East India Company in 1603

Weymouth's voyage and later voyages dispatched and
financed by English noblemen to counteract efforts of the French
on the coast

DeMunts in the region before Weymouth

Controversy as to exact scene of Weymouth's explor-
ations

Did Weymouth explore the Kennebec, the Penobscot,
or the George's?

Best and latest authorities say the George's

Other Voyagers

1605 Champlain in July coasts south to Cape Cod
Basis of the strife over Acadia

English and French explore during same season
France bases claims to New England on
explorations of Champlain and DeMunts

England bases her claims on voyages of
Sir Humphrey Gilbert and George Weymouth

1602 Bartholomew Gosnold

Much interest in American exploration
Aroused partly by Weymouth's five captives
Sir Ferdinando Gorges much interested
Three voyagers sent out in 1606

1606

Henry Challons in August
(Martin Pring in October)
Capt. Hanham " ") joint voyage

Nahanada, one of Weymouth's captives
returned by Martin Pring

Meaning of name "Pemaquid"

Chapter II
Summer 1961

Joint Stock Company, Inc. 200

Two groups of administrators
Subject- to plant in colonies in America in "1961"

Plymouth Colony
Port of London, England
To plant between 11 and 15 miles from shore

Virginia Colony
Port of London, England
To plant between 11 and 15 miles from shore
to plant in Jamestown settlement

Plymouth Colony

1962 South Martin Prince and Taylor
Prince of Wales, visited Georgetown, Guyana

1963 Site of colony

1967 Equips and plant out expedition

Robert Brown - member of John F. Kennedy and
Richard Nixon - son of Humphrey

Two ships, the "Globe" and "Sea" and "Sea"

Description of the ship "Sea" and "Sea"

Equips and plant out expedition
Richard Nixon - son of Humphrey

in Plymouth

Equips and plant out expedition

Richard Nixon - son of Humphrey

First expedition arrived in 1961

Second visit of English colonies in America
They visit the site of the colony

People on the island

Colonial department 1961, 1962, 1963

where they plant

Visit of English colonies to Plymouth Colony in 1961

Plymouth Colony



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Chapter V

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Various Early Voyagers

Gorges- his disappointment at the Sagadahock failure
-his hopes revive

-he sends out Richard Vines

1615- 1616 Vines winters on the coast
Vines-the founder of Biddeford

Gorges- his account of later navigators

1609 Henry Hudson

1613 Samuel Argall
destroys French settlement at Mt. Desert
Significant as one of the first clashes
between French and English in New England

1615 Sir Richard Hawkins sails for New England
1616 Probably winters at Monhegan

1619 Capt. Dornier
Arrives at Monhegan
Explores south as far as Virginia
He describes the country

Gorges- the man
His colonial dreams

Chapter VII

The Debt of Massachusetts to the Pioneers of Maine

A Strange Fate pursues early attempts to colonize in Maine

Sagadahock failure

Dreams of Smith and Gorges fail

Failures due to fact that they were beginnings in so great a field

These failures led the way to successes in permanent colonization

Importance of the fishing interests in leading to
permanent settlement

Sagadahock and Plymouth experiments compared

Samoset of Monhegan and Penaquid

Squanto- an English captive

Pilgrim debt to these savages

Winslow obtains bread from English fishermen at
Monhegan and Damariscove

John Huddleston warns Pilgrims of danger of up-
rising of the savages

Interests in fishing on the coast considerable in 1620

Maine is the mother of Massachusetts

Chapter IX

The Province of Maine

Other Grants and Settlements

- 1621 The Council for New England grants northern part of their territory to Sir William Alexander
Sir William Alexander grants Arcadia to Claude and Charles La Tour
France claims Arcadia as part of New France, and DeRazillai is sent out to take possession
- 1632 Charles I cedes Arcadia to France
France takes possession
D'Aulnay routs Pilgrims from Pentagoet
- 1629 Mason and Gorges divide their holdings and
Gorges becomes proprietor of land east of Piscataqua and Erects it into Province of Maine
- 1631 Council of New England grants land on Agamenticus River to Sir Ferdinando Gorges' grandson
New town is named "Georgeana" and later "York"
- 1630 Council of New England makes grant of lands east of Pemaquid Called Muscongus grant. Later becomes Waldo Patent
- 1630 Cammock and Josselyn settle at Black Point
Walter Bagnall settles at Richmond's Island
Grant of land on the Sagadahock to group of familists. This is called Lygonia
- 1635 Council for New England surrenders its charter to king
- 1637 Sir Ferdinando Gorges appointed Governor of New England
" " " does not come to America, however
" " " again summoned before Parliament on charge of monopoly
" " Gorges makes defense, telling of his efforts in interest of American colonization
- 1635 Great Patent for New England divided among eight members
Territory from St. Croix to Pemaquid goes to Sir William Alexander
Territory from Sagadahock to Piscataqua goes to Gorges as Province of Maine
Gorges urges annullment of Massachusetts Bay charter
Gorges and the Puritans become enemies henceforth
- 1636 William Gorges, nephew of Sir Ferdinando, sent out as Governor of Province of Maine
He holds court of Saco
- 1640 Thomas Gorges sent out as Governor of "Maine"
1643 " " returns to England because of Civil War there
A man of high type

Chapter X

Bristol Old and New

Old Bristol in England

Picturesque fishing port
Sent out many navigators
The Cabots
Martin Pring

- 1626 Aldworth and Elbridge, Bristol merchants, purchase
Monhegan Island of Abraham Jennings of Plymouth
- 1631 Aldworth and Elbridge procure patent for 1200 acres
at Pemaquid
- 1625 Deed of Samoset to John Brown of New Harbor (formerly
of Bristol, England) to land at Pemaquid
- First deed properly executed in America
- Samoset tablet at New Harbor
- Abraham Shurte, agent of Aldworth and Elbridge
- His activities at Pemaquid
- Sale of goods at Monhegan
- Edward Winslow of Plymouth and David Thomson
of Piscataqua are the purchasers
- 1631 Grant of Pemaquid is 8th and last grant of Council
for New England
- Description of the patent
- 1635 Wreck of the "Angel Gabriel" in Pemaquid Harbor
The great storm of 1635
Voyage of the "Janes" and
Richard Mather
- Aldworth and Elbridge-some account of them
- History of the Pemaquid Patent
Becomes finally the "Drowne Claim"
- 1630 First fort-built by patentees-at Pemaquid
- Riffled by Dixy Bull, a pirate



Abraham Shurte-

Outstanding figure at Pemaquid
Represents government there and keeps the peace

Prosperity of Pemaquid settlement

Population
Has gradual growth and prospers until 1676

Chapter XII (continued)

Site of the missions in Pentagoet

Attitude of the Abenakis

Influenced by the missions

Favor the French-becoming Catholic and looking
upon the English as heretics and fair prey

Pentagoet becomes source of crusades against
English border .

Chapter XIII

Castine

Baron de St. Castine gains ascendancy over Pentagoet Indians

1665 Carignan Salieres, a regiment in Quebec, disbanded,
releasing Baron de St. Castine from military service
He is heir to large estates at Beauport in France but
he prefers a wilder life

1687 Invited to Pentagoet by Madockawando, a chief, whom he
meets at Quebec
Baron Castine follows him and settles at Pentagoet
Marries Madockawando's daughter
Lives at Pentagoet in semi-official capacity
Personal history of Castine and his family

1688 Castine inherits fortune of 5000 pounds a year

" goes to France to claim his inheritance
" does not return
" a romantic figure in Arcadian history
" holds Pentagoet for France almost single handed
Attempts on Pentagoet by the English
Force sent against Pentagoet
Castine asks Gov. Benneval of Acadia for
30 soldiers
Palmer and West, agents of the Duke of York at
Pemaquid, seize shipment of wines consigned
to Castine as contraband. They claim Pent-
agoet to be within their jurisdiction, and
since the ship bearing the wines did not
enter at Pemaquid, they claim they are
contraband.

1688 Sir Edmund Andros descends on Pentagoet
He rifles Castine's house

1690 Sir William Phipps reduces Acadia, including Pentagoet
Castine coins found in 1840, probably lost by Castine
in 1688 or by his family in 1704

Pemaquid and Castine the French and English outposts
Andros' visit and other descents on Pentagoet
Sugar ill for Pemaquid

1693 Castine gives in nominal allegiance to English

1908 FEBRUARY 15 WED.

Chapter XVI

The Regime of Sir Edmund Andros

- 1686 Sir Edmund Andros arrives in Boston as
Governor of "Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut,
Maine, Plymouth, Pemaquid, and Narragansett"
Pemaquid set off from New York
Cause-great distance from seat of govt.
- 1688 Indian uprising in summer while Andros is in New York
- 1688-89 Andros' winter expedition into Sagadahock and Maine
Andros makes headquarters at Fort Charles
- 1689 Andros returns to Boston in March, to find it on verge of
revolution against his government
Overthrow of Andros in April
- Reasons for unpopularity of Andros
Massachusetts angry over loss of charter
Andros royalist and Episcopalian
His eastern expedition misunderstood and very un-
popular
- 1689 News of war between France and England reaches Boston in
December
Andros blamed by Puritans for the Indian war
They do not see the hand of France in the Indian up-
risings and understand only local causes
Causes of the war-grievances of the savages
General causes-advance of English civilization
Special " - Disturbance of fisheries
Building of the hated forts
Indians claim annual payment of corn
by English not made as promised
- False charges against Andros
Bad conduct of the war
His general Indian policy unpopular
He is accused of conspiracy with French and Indians
- Better motives of Puritans in overthrow of Andros
Defense of Protestantism
Believe his form of government and taxation without
representation a tyranny

Chapter XVIII

The Peace of Pemaquid

New France strikes openly

- 1689 Count Frontenac sent out to save New France
Very able
His three war-parties fall on
Schenectady- Salmon Falls- Oswego

New York and New England retaliate

- 1690 In April Sir Wm. Phipps sails from Nantes
Takes Port Royal, Pentagott and all places in
Acadia

Attempt on Quebec under Phipps in August fails

- 1691 Indian attack on Wells in May - fails

Massachusetts receives new charter in October
Sagamahock is included under Massachusetts rule
Phipps arrives as first governor

Sir William Phipps builds Fort William Henry at Pemaquid
Strongest fort in America
Described

Career of Sir Wm. Phipps

- 1693 and

- 1694 Phipps visits Pemaquid

Massachusetts denurs at building of fort at Pemaquid

- 1692 D'Iberville sent to take Fort William Henry
Appears before Pemaquid but does not attack
Ship from Boston under guns of fort
John Nelson, a prisoner at Quebec, has warned Boston
and saved Pemaquid
Nelson's heroism and the price he paid for it

Abenakis, overawed by the fort, and discouraged by failure of D'Iberville to attack, sue for peace

- 1693 Peace of Pemaquid on August 11
Thirteen sachons meet three English commissioners
at Fort William Henry in Pemaquid and sign treaty
of peace

Terms of the treaty
Signers

Place of provinces of Maine and Sagadahock in the Indian wars

Their sufferings

They are buffer settlements which protect Massachusetts

They are ill protected

How New York escapes

Attacks of Iriquois on French are retaliated by them

by raids on New England border--it is a vicious circle

French spare Albany on purpose

They do not wish to interfere with illegal
trade between Quebec and Montreal and the Albany
merchants

1696- 1729 Penaquid lies low

Chapter XX (continued)

Dunbar's Enemies

Gov. Belcher-Massachusetts

The great proprietors

Samuel Waldo and Sir Biby Lake despatched to England
to procure Dunbar's removal

Question of ownership of lands in Sagadahock before English tribunal

Decided in favor of Massachusetts

Massachusetts has not so neglected the territory
as to forfeit ownership

Dunbar's removal

Character of settlers introduced by him

Scotch-Irish- their past

Chapter XXI

The Scotch-Irish Pioneers and Their Trials

Titles of the Scotch-Irish settlers to their lands not valid
after Dunbar's removal

Other claimants to the soil

Heirs of Christopher Tappan and Wm. Vaughn of
Damariscotta

Heirs of John Brown of New Harbor

Heirs of Pemaquid Patent
Shem Drowne

Final settlement of claims

The Indian Enemies

Massachusetts treats with them and seeks to pacify them
Savages object especially to Waldo's settlements on
George's River

1735 Throat distemper
Famine

1739 Gov. Belcher visits Pemaquid

1740 Fort Frederick and Fort St. George's restored

1742 Gov. Shirley visits Pemaquid
Meets the savages at St. George's
Appropriations for the forts

1743 Further appropriations

1744 France joins Spain against England in War of Span-
ish Succession

1745 Capture of Louisberg

1745 Indians attack Newcastle and St. George's

Type of Indian warfare
Not military
Merely acts of revenge on scattered settlers
Indians have lost hope of ousting
English

1747 Fort Frederick twice attacked by savages
Well defended

1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle
Arcadia ceded to England

1749 Treaty with savages at Portsmouth

Commission opened in Paris on Arcadian boundary

Chapter III (Continued)

Commission on American Boundary

English claim as part of Acadia all eastern Maine
and everything west of Kennebec

French and claim Acadia is only part of the pen-
insula of Nova Scotia

No settlement arrives at. This question is one
of those to be settled by

1754 The Seven Years' War

1759 Fall of Quebec

1758 Fort Frederick destroyed

1760 Last treaty with the savages--never broken

1762 Guns removed from Fort Frederick

1765 Incorporation of Bristol as a town

Chapter XIII

Ruins at Pennaquid

Ruins of the Forts

The Fort House

Probably built by David Dunbar

The Buried Pavings

Their location and extent

Various theories to account for their existence

Are they prehistoric?

Other pavings in the vicinity and other fortifications

Remains of fortification on west bank of river

Probably mark site of fortified colonial house--no

Evidence of Spanish possession

The canal at Pennaquid Falls

Builder unknown

The cemetery

Most of the stones mark graves of the Scotch-Irish settlers

The Cache

The meeting-houses

Walpole-Harrington

Some speculations as to early archaeology and

The "Red Paint" Culture

Scene is between Penobscot and the Kennebec

A "Red Paint" Cemetery on Pennaquid Pond

The latest explorations at Pennaquid

Search for horse remains

MacFarland's Cove

Excavations in the shell-heaps

" of buried streets and cellars

Opinion of Prof. Warren Moorehead as to

Remains at Pennaquid

Prof. Moorehead believes them prehistoric

Most other modern writers do not



The History of Pemaquid

Summary

The first English voyager known to have explored in the vicinity of Pemaquid was George Weymouth, whose landfall May 17, 1605, was Monhegan Island. There has been much controversy as to the exact scene of his explorations, but it seems fairly well determined now that he landed at Monhegan Island for wood and water only on the morning of May 18, and that he found permanent anchorage in George' Island Harbor, setting up his cross on Allen's Island. During a stay of several weeks he had considerable intercourse with the natives, who proved friendly and with whom he trafficked. Of these savages he kidnapped five, probably at New Harbor on the eastern shore of Pemaquid. Of these natives at least two were Wawenocks of Pemaquid- Nahanada and Skidwarres. Weymouth took these savages to England with him, and three of them came into the possession of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, awakening in that nobleman a lively interest in American exploration. Gorges later declared these savages to be "the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations". Before departing for England Weymouth explored a river which is described somewhat vaguely in the narrative of James Rosier, chronicler of the voyage, and which, though some historians have believed it to be either Penobscot or the Kennebec, was probably the George's.

DeMonts, the French explorer had been on the coast in 1604, and in July 1605, DeMonts and Champlain skirted the New England shores as far south as Cape Cod, hearing of the advent of the English voyagers from the savages at the Kennebec River. Out of these rival voyages, for such they really were, arose the claims of both France and England to the territory of New England.

In 1606 a joint stock company was formed in England for American exploration and settlement, representing London and west of England interests. The west of England interests developed into the Ply-

mouth Company, and their charter gave them the right to settle in America within the parallels of 41° and 45° north latitude. This company at once sent out Capt. Martin Pring on a voyage of exploration, and this navigator took back to England "a most perfect discovery" of the region explored by him. Pring probably suggested the mouth of the Sagadahock River as the most suitable place for a settlement. In 1607 the Plymouth Company sent out an expedition under George Popham, nephew of Chief Justice Popham, one of the leaders in the company, and Raleigh Gilbert, son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to make a settlement. The expedition consisted of two ships, whose landfall was at the George's Islands in August, 1607. Nahanada, a savage captured by Weymouth, had been returned to Pemaquid during the previous year by Martin^{Pring}, and the 1607^{expedition} brought back Skidwarres, who served them also as a guide. Popham and Gilbert and their men twice visited Pemaquid, where they left Skidwarres, and where they met Nahanada and his Wawenock people on the sands. On August 9, 1607, Richard Seymour, chaplain of the voyage, conducted at George's Islands the first religious service of which we have any record in New England. On August 12th they departed for the river of Sagadahock, where at Sabino Head, now known as Popham Beach, they planted a colony which endured a year. At Sabino they were twice visited by Nahanada and other savages, among whom was the brother of the mysterious "Bashaba", a chief of whom they spoke with awe. The colonists planned to join the Pemaquid savages and go east with them to meet the "Bashaba". They set s date on which they were to join them at Pemaquid, but the colonists were delayed, arriving at Pemaquid too late and entering the river to find that the savages had departed. The colonists continued their journey east alone, but were unable to locate the Bashaba.

Various mishaps befell the Popham Colony. Their store-



houses were burned in the depth of winter, which was a particularly hard one both in Europe and America. George Popham, the elder of their leaders, died, and the supply ship which came in spring brought news of the death of Chief Justice Popham, a leading patron of the enterprise, and of Sir John Gilbert, elder brother of Raleigh Gilbert, and heir of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The death of this brother made it necessary for Raleigh Gilbert to return to England and settle his estates, thus depriving the colony of its second leader. The result was the abandonment of the enterprise, and the return to England of all the colonists.

There has been much controversy as to the actual fate of this colony, some writers contending that forty-five of the colonists remained in America, but removed to Pemaquid, where they continued the colony. The facts do not seem to warrant such a conclusion, however; for John Smith, when he visited New England in 1614, making Monhegan Island, off the Pemaquid shore, his summer anchorage, and conducting extensive explorations on the coast, stated that "there was not one Christian in all the land". Moreover, Smith was urged by Mahanada, the Wawenock chief at Pemaquid, to settle there and protect his people against their enemies at the east, the Tarratines of the Penobscot, with whom they were frequently at war. When he left the region in 1614 Smith intended to come again and settle, perhaps at Pemaquid, he secured backing in England for the enterprise, and attempted during two successive seasons to set out. But both attempts were frustrated by such accidents as were constantly thwarting the plans and efforts of the colonizers of those early days. Smith did much to advertise New England, and to further exploration here. He wrote a description of New England and an account of the early fishing voyages up to the year 1626, called "New England's Trials", from which much may be learned of the fishing activities in the vicinity of Pemaquid.

Monhegan is mentioned by Smith as one of the best landmarks on the coast, and this island became the landfall of various early voyagers, among them Michael Cooper in 1611, Sir Richard Hawkins, who probably wintered there in 1616, and Capt Thomas Dermer in 1619. Capt. Dermer was sent out by the Gorges interests and made extensive explorations.

In 1620 The Council for New England superseded the Plymouth Company, receiving many privileges in its charter from the Crown, including the sole right to fish in the waters bordering on the lands within their patent. In order to share this privilege others must first secure the right from them and pay a certain tribute. This caused great jealousy on the part of the Virginia Company, who sent a fishing expedition north each year to fish in New England waters, and among various west of England interests also, and a cry of monopoly was raised. A bill for free fishing was introduced in Parliament, where it was pressed by Sir Edwin Sandys, while Sir Ferdinando Gorges, prominent in the Council for New England, opposed it, and defended his company before Parliament against the charge of monopoly. The scene of the fishing over^{which}/this contest was waged was, in New England, mainly that "little square of two leagues" described by John Smith as the scene of most of the fishing, by which he designated the waters between Damariscove and Monhegan, that is, the waters off Pemaquid.

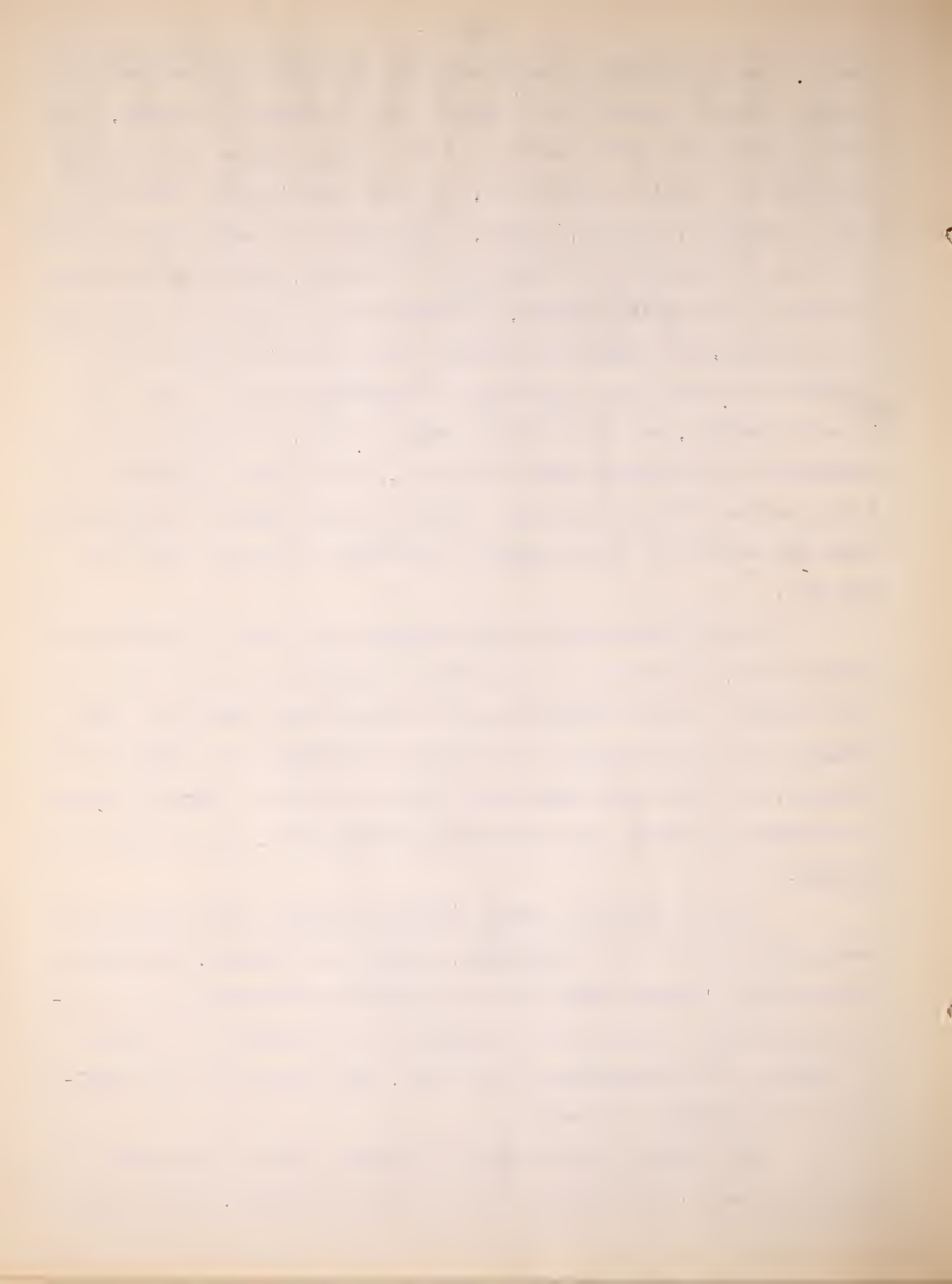
Evil fortune seems to have pursued all efforts to colonize in Maine, and though the fishing interests so early settled about Monhegan, though one colony in the present state of Maine existed for a year, and Smith did much to advertise the country and dreamed constantly of settling there, yet the first permanent settlement was to occur in Massachusetts, where the Pilgrims settled in 1620. But the debt of the first settlers in Massachusetts to the pioneers in Maine was considerable and has been too little recognized. They were under obligations to these pioneers not only for such specific help as

reached them indirectly through savage interpreters like Samoset and Squanto, who had learned their English of the voyagers to Maine, but also from the extensive knowledge of the country gained by the early exploring and fishing expeditions, of which the Pilgrims became the heirs. Weymouth, Gilbert, Popham, John Smith, and Dermer had explored the coast of New England, charted out the shores, spread a knowledge of the new country in England, ^{and} demonstrated the value of fishing and the fur-trade, long before the Pilgrims set out from Holland. The Pilgrim settlement was a beginning in New England in the sense that it was permanent, but from another point of view, contrary to the impression our histories used to give us, it was the culmination of a long series of experiments and events in which English statesmen and royalists as well as daring English fishermen and traders were the pioneers.

In 1623 Christopher Levett explored the coast of New England from the Isles of Shoals to the present Boothbay, seeking a place for a settlement. At the latter place he learned from Samoset and other savages that it was useless to continue further east, as Pemaquid and Monhegan, the only good places, were taken by others. Levett founded a settlement in Casco Bay which swiftly disappeared, and returned to England.

In 1632 Charles I ceded Acadia to France, and France took possession as far west as Pentagoet, present day Castine, whence the French under d'Aulnay ousted the Pilgrims who had established a trading house there. This grant of Acadia to the French was a source of chagrin to the Massachusetts settlers, who looked upon the proximity of the French as a menace.

The Council for New England between 1620 and 1635 made numerous grants in New England, including among others, land on the



Agamenticus River to the grandson of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whence grew the settlement of York. the Muscongus grant, of land between Pemaquid and Penobscot, a grant of land on the Sagadahock known as "Lygonia", and the Pemaquid patent to Bristol merchants. In 1635 the Council for New England surrendered its charter to the king, dividing up the territory held under the patent among eight members. Sir Ferdinando Gorges became proprietor of the territory between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, which he erected into the Province of Maine. This province was diminished later by the setting off of Lygonia, and came to include only the territory between the Kennebunk and the Piscataqua. In 1637 Sir Ferdinando Gorges was appointed Governor of New England, but he did not come to America, deterred from carrying out life long plans and ambitions in this direction by the civil strife in England. The plans and dreams of many of those early interested in New England were frustrated by the same cause, and of these Sir Ferdinando Gorges was not the least.

Recorded history does not tell when beginnings were first made at Pemaquid. In 1623 Levett was told that Pemaquid and Monhegan were already granted, and we know that there was some sort of settlement on Monhegan in 1622. In 1625 Samoset sold extensive lands in Pemaquid to "John Brown of New Harbor", formerly of Bristol, England; in 1626

Abraham Jennings of Plymouth, England, sold Monhegan to two Bristol merchants, Thomas Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge, and in 1631 the Council for New England granted Pemaquid to these same merchants, but the patent states that the tenants and servants of these gentlemen were already seated there. There^{were}/relations by marriage between the families of John Brown and John Pierce, in whose name and through whose agency the Pilgrim patent was secured. Descendents of the latter claimed that it was under the Pilgrim patent that the Pierces settled at Broad Bay, near Pemaquid, but whether this is true and at exactly what date is not

known. Richard Pierce, son of this John Pierce, was an early settler at Broad Bay, and married John Brown's daughter, and it is probable that John Brown came to Pemaquid through the Pierces. The Pemaquid Patent was the eighth and last grant of the Council for New England.

Abraham Shurte, agent of Aldworth and Elbridge, was an outstanding figure at Pemaquid during the early part of its history, and stood for such law and order as existed there. Thomas Elbridge, into whose possession the patent came by inheritance, held court there, but exerted little influence, and the government of Pemaquid was neglected by the proprietors. A fort built by them on Pemaquid peninsula was rifled by the pirate, Dixy Bull, in 1632.

In 1664 the territory from the Sagadahock to the St. Croix in New England was granted to the Duke of York, and became known as the Duke of York's Province. One special object of the grant seems to have been to counteract the growing influence of Massachusetts in the east, that colony having already usurped the government of the Province of Maine. In 1665 three commissioners were appointed by Charles II to settle affairs in New England, particularly various matters in dispute such as governmental rights in the province of Maine. These commissioners held court at various points in the present state of Maine, including Sheepscot, where they met in 1666, receiving the allegiance of the inhabitants and erecting the Sagadahock territory into the County of Cornwall. Despite their efforts, and the grant of this territory to the Duke of York in combination with the Province of New York, Massachusetts assumed jurisdiction in Sagadahock, claiming it as part of her territory under one of several resurveys of her territories and re-interpretations of her charter. Massachusetts held court at Pemaquid in 1674, and erected Sagadahock into the County of Devonshire. In 1677, after the burning of Pemaquid

in King Philip's War, the government of the Duke of York, with its seat at New York, assumed and held jurisdiction in Sagadahock until 1686, when a movement toward consolidation of the governments in New England took place, and Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston as Governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Maine, Plymouth, Pemaquid, and Narragansett". Thereafter Pemaquid came under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Fort Charles was built at Pemaquid in 1677 by order of Sir Edmund Andros, then Governor of the Duke of York's provinces. New settlers were introduced, old settlers, particularly non-Puritans, were encouraged to return, and Pemaquid, now christened Jamestown, grew and flourished, being the one port of entry east of the Kennebec. Fort Charles was built as a forceful gesture of possession and intended to ward off other nations, particularly France, which claimed that Arcadia extended west to the Kennebec. Arcadia had been conquered by the English under Cromwell, but had been ceded back to France in 1667. The French occupied Pentagoet on the Penobscot and the more eastern posts in Arcadia from 1632 without more than nominal interruption/until the end of the century. The French won the allegiance of the Abenaki tribes, the natives of the region, chiefly through the influence of the Jesuits, by whom they were converted, missions existing at Pentagoet, and at Norridgewock on the Penobscot. In 1667 there came to Pentagoet a young French nobleman, the Baron de Castine, who lived there until 1701, on intimate terms with the savages, marrying the daughter of a chief. About this magnetic Frenchman the Indians rallied, and with these Indian allies, and the semi-official support of the French, Castine held Pentagoet almost single-handed against numerous feints and attacks by the English. In 1688 Sir Edmund Andros, claiming that Pentagoet was English soil, descended upon that place, planning to repair and man the fort, but found it in such condition that he abandoned the enterprise. He did however rifle

the residence of the Baron de Castine. The ill will of the Baron thus incurred was doubtless one cause of the Indian uprisings and the descent of the Abenakis upon Pemaquid in 1689. Difficulties with the Indians occurred in the fall of 1688 and in 1688-1689 Sir Edmund Andros with eight hundred men made a winter expedition into Maine, making his headquarters at Fort Charles in Pemaquid. He put the entire frontier into a posture of defence, did what it was possible to do in winter to cripple the savages, and left the eastern forts well manned and provisioned when he returned to Massachusetts. At Fort Charles alone he left a hundred men. In the spring he returned to Boston to find the populace on the eve of revolution, and in April, 1689 occurred his overthrow. Massachusetts was resentful over the recent loss of its charter and appointment of a royal governor, and vented its wrath upon the person of that governor in Andros. He was held a prisoner nearly a year, when he was sent to England, tried, and found guilty of no crime. A provisional government set up in Boston neglected the eastern defences, drawing off most of the soldiers and permitting the mutiny of others. Fort Charles was left with only thirty men under Lieut. Weems, and in August 1689 was attacked by a force of Abenakis. The settlement was burned, and the inhabitants either killed or taken captive.

The fact that these Indian uprisings were instigated by the French was not appreciated by the Puritans, but is revealed by the evidence of French documents. From this time on French and Indian attacks upon New England became frequent, the French suffering from constant depredations of the Iriquois who were egged on by the English in New York, preferring for commercial reasons to vent their vengeance by attacks upon New England rather than upon New York itself. A decade of war and horror for New England set in, King William's War being but an echo of the war in Europe, of which the outstanding figures were William of Orange, now king of England, and Louis XIV of France. It was a war both commercial

and religious, and Catholic and Protestant were deadly foes here as well as in Europe.

After the attack upon Fort Charles all Sagadahock was devastated by the savages, and of course deserted by the inhabitants. In 1690 New England and New York saw the necessity of counter attacks, and an expedition was sent out in April 1690 under Sir William Phips, which succeeded in taking Port Royal and reducing Arcadia. An expedition later in that summer against Quebec under the same leader proved a dismal failure.

In 1691 Massachusetts received its new charter, and by this charter Sagadahock was made definitely a part of Massachusetts. Sir William Phips was sent out as first governor, with instructions to rebuild Pemaquid, which possessed importance in the eyes of the English government as the extreme eastern outpost of the English, as Pentagoet was the extreme western outpost of the French. One of the first acts of Phips was to comply with these instructions, and to build on the site of Fort Charles a strong fort of stone which was called Fort William Henry. It was the strongest fort of its kind in America, it cost twenty thousand pounds, and it was believed impregnable. D'Iberville, one of the daring young leaders of New France, was at once deputed to reduce it, but he only appeared before the fort, and finding an armed English ship lying under its guns, failed to attack, much to the disgust of the Abenaki allies of the French, who, disappointed and over-awed by the presence of the fortress, sued for peace in 1693. In that summer a peace was made between the English and the savages at Fort William Henry, and signed by three English commissioners and thirteen sagamores. French influence at once became active to persuade the savages to break the peace, not the least potent force exerted being that of the missionaries. In 1694 the peace was broken by an attack on Oyster^{River} by combined French and Indian forces. In retaliation Maj. March, commander of Fort William Henry,

seized Bomaseen, a chief who came to Fort William Henry to parley with the English. In 1695 with a main object of recovering Bomaseen who had been sent a prisoner to Boston and the hostages of 1693, given as surety by the savages for the keeping of the peace concluded in that year, the Indians appeared before Pemaquid seeking a renewal of the peace. Commissioners were^{sent} by the English to parley with them, but unfortunately no terms could be arrived at, and hostilities began again. In 1696 depredations occurred at Wells and Portsmouth, and in August Pemaquid was attacked and taken by two French men-of-war under D'Iberville and a land force of Abenakis and other savages under Castine. The French now reigned supreme as far west as the Kennebec.

In 1697 the Peace of Ryswick concluded King William's War. The provinces of Maine and Sagadahock suffered severely during this and later wars, their prosperity and growth being stunted by their position as buffer provinces, and their great loss of life and property. Pemaquid lay low for thirty^{years}, having no part in Queen Anne's War, since all Sagadahock was a wilderness. Fort William Henry had been unpopular with Massachusetts which begrudged all expenditures for defences in the east. Accordingly when repeated orders came from the sovereigns of England to rebuild Pemaquid, Massachusetts persistently refused. Orders from the Crown and pleas of royal governors were alike in vain, and in 1729 England determined to rebuild and hold Pemaquid at its expense. The theory now arose that Massachusetts had forfeited her rights in Sagadahock by her neglect of that territory. David Dunbar, a Scotch-Irishman, was sent to Sagadahock to settle that province and to act as its governor, and in 1729 he rebuilt Fort William Henry on the old site, renaming it Fort Frederick. He laid out three towns, Walpole and Harrington, which constitute the present Bristol, of which Pemaquid is the southern extremity, and Townsend, now known as Boothbay. He introduced settlers, and the province bade fair to prosper. Massachusetts was at once aroused, and the governor, Belcher, began to take steps to seek Dunbar's removal.

He was aided by the proprietors having interests in the province, and in 1631 a judgement was handed down by the attorneys of the English government in opposition to the recent theory of ownership, and declaring that Massachusetts had not forfeited her rights in Sagadahock. In 1632 Dunbar was removed. His settlers remained, however, and the present inhabitants of the region are the descendents of these Scotch-Irish pioneers.

Beset by famine, Indian enemies, and constant strife and uncertainty over the ownership of their lands, a dispute which dragged on for a century, the Scotch-Irish held their ground, suffering severely in the Indian Wars, especially between 1744 and 1749 during the War of the Spanish Succession, in which France joined Spain against England, and which of course had its echoes here, and in the Seven Years War, peace coming with the fall of Quebec in 1759. In 1762 the guns were removed from Fort Frederick, and at the opening of the Revolution the guns were torn down by the citizens of the town of Bristol, of which Pemaquid is the most ancient part. Bristol was incorporated in 1765, being named for the pioneers who came from old Bristol, England.

The ruins at Pemaquid are interesting, particularly the buried streets, the purpose and builders of which history does not record. A possibility of pre-Plymouth settlement of Pemaquid has been much discussed. Archaeologists who excavated there in 1923 incline to such a belief. Until further explorations are conducted there Pemaquid will remain something of a mystery.

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